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ABSTRACT

Nearly 100 Mexican American children and adolescents in grades 2-12 were interviewed in central Texas to determine their understanding of ethnicity and their attitudes toward their own ethnicity. Their responses were interpreted in relation to a developmental model with five stages or "perspectives" in reasoning about ethnicity. The first level, Level 0 (ages up to 6-7 years), involves primarily a physical perspective on ethnicity, in which children use skin color or facial features to make racial/ethnic classifications. Children at this level tend to base ethnic pride in either a generalized pride in themselves or a pride specific to their physical characteristics. Level 1 (ages 6-10) involves literal conceptions of ethnicity--awareness of nonobservable aspects of ethnicity such as ancestry, cultural heritage, and language. At Level 2 (ages 8-12), children become aware of subtle social aspects of ethnicity such as social class status and ethnic bias. Level 3 (adolescence to early adulthood) involves a group perspective on ethnicity, in which youth can generalize across individuals and discrete experiences. Level 4 involves a multicultural perspective on ethnicity. Levels 0-3 are illustrated by subjects' responses to why they like being Mexican American and why someone would not like being Mexican American. An appendix categorizes children's and high school students' responses by various themes and compares them to similar responses from African American children. (SV)

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Latino Studies Series

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by Stephen Quintana, Ph.D.
University of Wisconsin, Madison

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Abstract:

This paper describes results from interviews with Mexican American children in grades 2-12 and interviews with their parents about their developmental model (ethnic perspective-talking ability). It focuses on children's responses to questions about ethnic pride (why someone would not like being Mexican American) and internalized racism (why they like being Mexican American). The research suggested four developmental levels in their responses to these questions (physical, literal, social, and group perspectives). These interview responses will be compared to similar interviews conducted with African American children, children from two different racial groups in Guatemala, and international children born in Latin America and living in the U.S.

About the Author: *Stephen M. Quintana*

Steve Quintana was born and raised in Denver, Colo., and graduated from Carleton College in Minnesota with a B.A. in Psychology in 1983. He earned his Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology in 1989 from the University of Notre Dame and taught at the University of Texas-Austin in the Department of Educational Psychology from 1988-1995. He received a Ford Foundation Fellowship for research investigating Mexican-American children's understanding of ethnicity in Texas and Arizona; Martha Bernal was his mentor for this project and fellowship. Dr. Quintana is now at University of Wisconsin-Madison as an Associate Professor in the Departments of Counseling Psychology and Educational Psychology (joint appointment). His current research is developing and evaluating a model of children's understanding of social status, which includes ethnicity, race, gender, nationality, and social class.

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Mexican American Children's Ethnic Pride and Internalized Racism

How do children develop a sense of ethnic pride? More importantly, how do children who belong to a stigmatized group such as Mexican Americans develop ethnic pride in the face of discrimination? How does ethnic pride change as children mature? What are some of the differences between ethnic pride for Mexican Americans and ethnic pride for other racial groups in the US and in Latin America? Additionally, despite the development of ethnic pride, do Mexican American children also develop internalized racism because of their exposure to discrimination? These are some of the guiding questions for the research presented in this chapter.

The research for this chapter is part of my programme of research into how children understand or conceive of various forms of social difference, such as ethnicity, race, gender, and nationality. This research has been conducted across various populations in order to identify similarities due to normal developmental processes, as well as to examine differences due to contextual factors such as sociocultural history or cultural features. In this research, children from the following groups have been questioned concerning their understanding of race or ethnicity: Mexican American (from Texas), White and African American children in Texas and Wisconsin, and African American children in Chicago. Additionally, international children (living in the U.S., but born elsewhere) from five Latin American nations as well as from Korea have been interviewed with regard to their understandings of nationality. To address cross-cultural validity, I have worked with UNICEF in interviewing two different racial groups of children in Guatemala, including Ladinos (Spanish speaking, of European descent) and *Quiché* (K'iché speaking, of Mayan descent). Finally, I interviewed White, African American, and Mexican American youth about their understanding of gender.

The interviews are conducted in such a way that children are asked open-ended questions with a semi-structured format, wherein interviewers probe children's responses to understand more completely the nature of the children's thoughts and responses. The interviews are audio-recorded to preserve the richness of the responses and articulations. The interviewer and child were matched for the form of social difference that was being investigated. For example, in the research for this chapter Mexican American children were interviewed by Mexican American interviewers. This research has focused on interviewing populations who are members of stigmatized groups, or have minority social status because we believe that children's understanding of their social identity is particularly important to social and personal adjustment. We have observed that children are not often given opportunities to discuss these issues in a structured format and that they seem to enjoy having the opportunity to participate in the interviews. In this project we have been most interested in the children's reasoning with regard to these social differences and have only had a secondary interest in the valence of their attitudes. For example, although we asked if the children had pride in their ethnic group, we were much more interested in the reasons that they gave for their ethnic pride. We found much richness in the reasons that children gave (or, in some cases, could not give) for their ethnic pride. In contrast, we found almost all U.S. children responded affirmatively to having ethnic pride. For the specific research presented here, nearly 100 Mexican American children from grades two through twelve were interviewed in central Texas. In reporting the results, I focus on developmental differences in children's responses. The interview questions of particular interest to this study were:

> *Do you like being Mexican American? Why or Why not?*
>
> *Have there been times when you wished you weren't Mexican American? If so, when were those times?*
>
> *Why would someone not like being Mexican American?*

Developmental Differences

Much of my research has focused on evaluating a developmental model of children's understanding of social difference which I am extending in this chapter to account for developmental differences in Mexican American children's expression of their ethnic attitudes. This general model is based on five developmental levels of ability to adopt specific perspectives. At each level, children apply a new kind of perspective-taking ability to their reasoning about ethnicity or, in this case, ethnic pride. Perspective-taking ability differs from the related construct of role-taking in that the latter involves taking the role of another person, but the former involves the ability to take a particular point of view — having 'perspective'on the world. These perspectives include having a physical (level 0), literal (level 1), social (level 2), group (level 3), and societal (level 4) perspectives. Each level of development involves the ability to assume a new perspective and integrate that new perspective with the previous perspectives.

For example, a child at the social level of perspective-taking ability would be able to assume physical, literal, and social perspectives on their conception of the meaning of ethnicity for him – or herself. This child would be able to integrate these different perspectives, including, for example, the ability to appreciate the social implications of physical (e.g., skin color) manifestations of ethnicity. The model of ethnic perspective-taking ability follows the rhythm of development suggested by Selman's (1980) model of social perspective-taking ability. Indeed, research suggests a strong connection between the development of these two forms of perspective-taking ability (Quintana, Castañeda-English, and Ybarra, 1998; Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Dóupe, and de Baessa, 1998).

Level 0: Physicalistic Perspective (ages up to 6-7 years).

The first level of ethnic perspective-taking ability involves primarily a physical perspective on ethnicity. Young preschool children understand there is a connection between some physical features (e.g., skin color) and ethnic or racial group designation. Interestingly, research has suggested that young children rely more on facial features than on skin color when making racial classifications, contrary to popular belief. Much research has documented the tendency for children to use physical descriptors of race and ethnicity during preschool and kindergarten years. To illustrate, children have been known to develop somewhat idiosyncratic terminology when referring to racial group based on physical features — using "Brown" instead of using the more popular (among adults) term "Black" when referring to African Americans. In physicalistic terms, children's references to racial group membership may be more accurate than the socially constructed terms that adults use. Interesting research by Hirschfeld (1996) has suggested that even young (preschool and early elementary-aged) children seem to apply their naive conceptions of biology to understand the biological features of ethnicity.

However, young children seem to confuse the external manifestations of ethnicity and race with more critical features of ethnicity or race. For example, young children may believe that if the physical features of a person's ethnicity or race would change than the person's ethnicity/race would change. In particular, Aboud (1987) has examined the lack of racial constancy in young children's reasoning. Much of the children's confusion in this regard seems related to the dominance of the physical perspective they bring to their understanding of race or ethnicity. Young children also seem to have difficulty separating linguistic and nationalistic status from ethnic/racial status especially when the ethnic group may have originated in another country (e.g., Mexico) or tend to use a different language (e.g., Spanish). One of the children I interviewed suggested that a person was Mexican only when they spoke "Mexican" (i.e., Spanish) and would become German when he or she spoke German.

It is commonly understood that preschool children may be able to make classifications only according to race (i.e., White and Black) and be unable to differentiate according to ethnic status (e.g., Anglo and Mexican American) because of the relatively subtle differences in physical features associated with ethnic status relative to the more obvious differences associated with race, which are based on physical characteristics. Hence I wonder if the common view that there are profound racial differences in physical features is predominately socially constructed: in my cross-cultural research in Guatemala – where the physical differences between racial groups (Ladinos,

who are Spanish-speaking, and of European descent, and *Quichés*, who speak *K'iché* and are of Mayan descent) were less obvious to me when I first arrived in the country than they were to young Guatemalan children – I learned definitively that even young children may be socialized about the socially-constructed meanings associated with race. That is, perhaps the meanings that have been socially constructed in our society about race create or exaggerate the perception of racial differences in physical appearance. I reviewed research on the origins of children's racial attitudes and was surprised by the evidence suggesting the powerful influence of societal views on the attitudes of small children, perhaps stronger than parental attitudes (Quintana, 1998; Aboud, 1993).

As children enter elementary school they tend to be able to describe the more subtle physical differences between ethnic groups, and can classify people according to ethnicity and race in a fairly reliable manner for those groups to which they have frequent exposure. I expected that Mexican American children's responses to the ethnic pride questions would also follow this pattern in that young children would base their description of why they are proud of their ethnicity on physicalistic descriptions. Indeed, young Mexican American children's descriptions of what it meant to be Mexican American frequently included reference to physical features such as brown skin color, brown or black hair, and dark or brown eyes. Responses suggested some children were confused about the skin coloration due to ethnicity compared to the temporary darkening of the skin due to tanning.

For example, one Mexican American child said: "I used to be White then I went out into the sun." In response to the ethnic pride questions, children at level 0 tended to respond with the following:

> ***Interviewer:*** *Why do you like being Mexican American?*
>
> ***Child:*** *I like having dark skin, black hair and [brown] eyes.*
>
> ***Child:*** *I can say a few words in Spanish.*
>
> ***Child:*** *My mom is Mexican, my friends are Mexican, my dog is Mexican, but I don't know about my grandpa.*

The first response was one of the most common for those children in my sample classified at level 0 of ethnic perspective-taking ability, reflecting their tendency to reference physical features as reasons for ethnic pride. Other children's response tended to reflect the strong association between linguistic and ethnic status. The child who gave the last response reported an experience in which her mother announced that everyone in the car was Mexican American and the child noted to me that her dog was in the car at the time.

Children classified as level 0 also referenced physicalistic characteristics in response to the question "Why would someone not like being Mexican American?" The following are some examples:

> *"Because people call me Chinese... I'm not Chinese. I'm Mexican."*
>
> *"Because may be he doesn't like the color [of his skin]."*
>
> *"Because people make fun of him and his color."*
>
> *"They don't like Spanish and want to speak French."*

In the first example, the child reported being teased because of his ethnic physical features, the shape of his eyes, resulting in his feeling hurt by the teasing and confused about his schoolmates' incorrect ethnic classification of him.

Generalizing across many level 0 interviews, it seemed that there was a particular quality in children's responses to ethnic pride questions. For example, the responses of children at level 0 suggest that the source of their ethnic pride was not based in pride in their ethnic group, per se. Rather, their pride tended to be based in terms of either generalized pride about themselves or pride specific to their physical or exterior characteristics. Many of the children had developed generalized self pride, and their ethnic pride was an extension of this more generalized pride in self rather than a specific development with regard to their ethnicity. Additionally, at this level, it appeared as if they did not have a sense of ethnicity beyond the external features of ethnicity, and consequently, their pride was based in their feelings or atti-

tudes about these external characteristics. For those children who had negative experiences, usually related to teasing from peers, their ethnicity appeared to be a static quality in their lives — over which they had little control or for which they could not feel responsible or take credit. These children tended to feel troubled over being teased for a characteristic over which they had no control. Children with negative experiences related to being teased for the physical manifestations of their ethnicity seem to be at risk for internalized racism. Although we did not find evidence that could be unequivocally identified as internalized racism, conversations with adults revealed childhood memories in which they tried to wash off their dark complexion as a way of dealing with the discrimination they faced as a child.

In short, level 0 involves an emphasis on the physical manifestations of ethnicity, with ethnic pride or negative experiences related to ethnicity focused on the external and physical manifestations of ethnicity. Some children also evidenced some confusion related to ethnicity, confounding it with linguistic status, and others were unable to identify ethnic differences (although they were able to identify racial differences between African and White Americans).

Level 1: Literal Perspective
(approximate ages 6-10 years)

At this level of perspective-taking ability, children add a new perspective to their primarily physicalistic conception of ethnicity and ethnic pride. This perspective involves awareness of internal and non-observable characteristics of ethnicity. Children at this level better understand the role of heritage and ancestry in determining ethnicity, a development which allows them to be aware of how ethnic status remains constant despite superficial changes in appearances. In this way, children's conceptions of ethnicity become more consistent with a literal, dictionary definition of ethnicity. More generally, children at these ages are more aware of psychological processes underlying physical appearances in their social world (Selman, 1980). In the context of ethnicity, children understand that persons from different ethnic groups may have different psychological preferences for food, activities, language, etc. Although they are aware of the importance of internal and psychological characteristics underlying ethnic status, some children perceive a link between physical features and internal ethnic characteristics: a few children in the interviews thought that a Mexican American child would be able to learn Spanish more readily than other children, even if the child was raised in a monolingual (English) environment. However, most children limited their conception of ethnicity to those features literally connected to ethnic status. That is, children tended to restrict their identification of ethnic characteristics to those features that are ethnically labeled (e.g., Mexican American parents, Spanish language, Mexican crafts). For some children, to be Mexican American meant, literally, that they were half Mexican and half American (e.g., "I was born in Mexico and then came to the U.S."), with some implying an additive quality to their ethnicity ("I'm Mexican and I'm American"). Children at this level tended not to identify characteristics that were not labeled as ethnic to be part of their ethnicity.

Children's responses to ethnic pride questions tended to reflect this literal view of ethnicity:

> ***Interviewer:*** *Why do you like being Mexican American?*
>
> ***Child:*** *I can speak Spanish and English.*
>
> ***Child:*** *I like going to Mexico.*
>
> ***Child:*** *Because you can do a lot more things like read and study in Spanish, you can eat different things like pizza, tacos, and enchiladas, and go to restaurants.*
>
> ***Child:*** *I get to be in Fiestas and get to dress up on Mexican holidays.*
>
> ***Child:*** *Because that is what I am.*

The first four of these responses cite literal cultural characteristics as reasons for ethnic pride. Many children's responses suggested that they felt somewhat special because of the added quality of having a Mexican heritage. These responses suggest an ethnic identification which allowed them to be both "American" (i.e. a member of the larger society) and "Mexican" (i.e. a member of a specific subgroup of society). Like the children at level 0, my impressions of children's responses at level 1 suggest that their ethnic pride was strongly based in a more gen-

eral self pride or self-esteem. However, unlike children at level 0, the ethnic pride expressed by children at level 1 included pride in the literal ethnic features such as ethnic heritage, and cultural skills and practices (Spanish, culinary preferences, etc.). Also, children's ethnic pride at level 1 often included pride in their particular families' ethnic heritage and history, but rarely mentioned pride in the larger ethnic group, outside of the extended family and the familial heritage. In other words, ethnic pride to these children was based primarily on pride in their families' heritage, as well as ethnic practices (eating Mexican food, speaking Spanish).

The responses of children at this level to the questions: "Why would someone not like being Mexican American?" also reflected an emphasis on literal features of ethnicity:

"Maybe he didn't like where he came from [his heritage] after all."

"Its hard to speak Spanish [and my grandma makes me]."

"Maybe if they only knew Spanish and didn't know English."

"I don't know."

Children at this level seemed to be less confused and more able to respond psychologically to being teased by peers about ethnicity. When children at this stage were teased about their ethnic appearances, They seemed to take comfort that there were other features of their ethnicity, separate from the characteristics that were the target of the teasing. That is, a child being teased about their skin color could take pride in being able to speak Spanish. In short, given the growing complexity of children's understanding of ethnicity, there were more features of which they could feel proud.

Level 2: Social Perspective
(approximate ages 8-12)

At this level, children add perspective to their literal and physical perspectives of ethnicity. Specifically, children become aware of sometimes subtle and nonliteral features of ethnicity, which tend to be those features which are not part of strictly objective, dictionary-like definitions of ethnicity. These features include, for example, awareness that there may be differences in social class associated with ethnic status. Social class difference is not a feature literally associated with ethnicity, but children at this level observe these differences without necessarily being taught about this issue. Similarly, children are aware of social differences associated with ethnicity. In particular, children at this level may notice differences in their friendships with ethnically-similar friends compared to ethnically-different friends. Children's responses to ethnic pride also reflected the inclusion of subtle and social features of ethnicity:

"I can have two different kind of friends [Mexican friends and American friends] and speak in two languages to my friends."

"I like helping people who speak Spanish."

"I get to meet a lot of people you wouldn't meet [if you weren't Mexican American]."

In each of these responses, there is a strong social implication to ethnic status. Their ethnic status makes it easier to meet or interact with others of the same ethnicity. In addition, ethnic status is perceived to be associated with the ability to have a broader mix of friends based on ethnicity.

In contrast to interviews with children at levels 0 and 1, children at level 2 readily described negative consequences associated with ethnicity. In interviews, children discussed how they were treated differently than Anglo students. At previously levels, responses suggesting ethnic prejudice tended to be focused on one limited aspect of ethnicity (e.g., skin color), but responses from children at level 2 suggest ethnic prejudice is focused more broadly on ethnic status. The introduction of these subtle and social implications of ethnicity tended to be associated with much more complex or complicated feelings about ethnicity: namely, children at this level realized that ethnic status did not necessarily have the additive quality reflective of children at level 1. Conversely, at level 2, ethnic status reflected an either/or quality: children's responses suggested their identity was "Mexican American" rather than "Mexican" *and* "American." That is, some children's responses at this level suggest their membership in their ethnic group may have compromised their membership or social integration into wider North American society.

The following are examples of responses given to the question, "Why would someone not like being Mexican American?"

"The way people treat you, you may not be treated fairly by an Anglo company."

"If she were made fun of, like speaking in with an accent."

"My friends who are White say they don't like Hispanics. I feel left out."

"If they wanted to be White... maybe because they think they have a better life if they were White."

These responses reflect children's descriptions of somewhat isolated social interactions in which ethnic status was associated with prejudice or bias. At this level, children no longer conceive of ethnicity as something external and physical (level 0), or as reflective of one's past (level 1), important during isolated events (e.g., ethnic celebrations of holidays), but as a feature of themselves that has implications for their mundane or everyday social interactions. More simply, children at this level are keenly aware of the social reality of their ethnic status.

Because they have the social cognitive ability to "see themselves through the eyes of others" (Selman, 1980), they do so through the eyes of "others" from other ethnic groups. Consequently, it is during this time period, middle childhood, that it is critically important for children to be able to respond to their increasing awareness of ethnic prejudice, directed against themselves. Unfortunately, very little research has been done regarding, this developmental period, as most research has been focused on either early childhood or adolescence. More research is desperately needed in this area.

Level 3: Group Perspective
(approximately from adolescence to early adulthood)

During adolescence, youths may add a new perspective to their social, literal, and physical understanding of ethnicity. At the next level of perspective taking ability, youth are able to generalize across discrete experiences and across individuals. To explain, this level involves the youths' abilities to generalize across isolated examples of ethnic prejudice or bias and describe the cumulative effects of experiences related to ethnicity. For example, youths may show awareness of negative media portrayals of their ethnic group and relate them to ethnic stereotyping. Moreover, they can articulate the long-term effects of subtle experiences associated with ethnicity.

To illustrate, interview responses suggest that at level 3 the youth were more aware of the consequences of ethnic segregation on ethnic attitudes than were younger children. That is, at level 2, children described primarily isolated events, and tended not to articulate the cumulative effects of more subtle yet pervasive influences of ethnic socialization by the wider society (media, police, teachers, etc.).

Secondly, at level 3, youth are able to assume a group perspective of ethnicity, involving a more full conceptualization of themselves as a part of an ethnic group than children at other levels. Specifically, at level 3, the youth tended to refer to Mexican Americans as "we" or "us" more frequently than children at other levels. Moreover, at level 3, youth tended to conceive of an interaction between two ethnically-different people as not just an interaction between two individuals, but also as an interaction between the two ethnic groups the individuals represent. At this level, youths often realize that the actions of each individual may be generalized to the conception or stereotype of all members of that ethnic group. There is also a quality to the youth's responses to interview questions that suggests that ethnicity is less objectively defined (e.g., based on heritage) and more subjectively understood – that is, based on the strength of a person's identification with his or her ethnicity. The concept of people who 'sell out' their ethnic group becomes a significant concern for those with a group perspective to their ethnicity. As before, this kind of perspective-taking ability was also revealed in the youth's responses to the ethnic pride questions:

Interviewer: *Why do you like being Mexican American?*

Youth: *It is part of who I am.*

Interviewer: *Why would someone not like being Mexican American?*

Youth: *When I experience prejudice from Hispanics. They say: "She only gets along with Whites."*

Youth: *Because of the way we were treated way back [i.e., historically].*

Youth: *Because of racial stuff like White people get jobs and some don't trust Mexicans. We don't have it made like Whites do.*

These comments reflect the central role of the youth's ethnic identity in their personal sense of self. Additionally, the comments reveal the difficulties and consequences of ethnicity in society. Some do not feel completely accepted by their own ethnic group, and others have conflicts with other ethnic groups.

Summary

As expected, children's and youth's responses to these questions about ethnic pride were consistent with my general model of ethnic perspective-taking ability listed in Table 1. With an understanding of the sources of ethnic pride based in children's developmental reasoning, it may be more possible to develop interventions to increase children's ethnic pride, as well as potentially inoculate them against some of the negative effects associated with prejudice and discrimination embedded within the dominant culture of the United States.

SUMMARY TABLE:
ETHNIC PERSPECTIVE-TAKING ABILITY

Level 0: Physicalistic and Observable Perspective of Ethnicity

Sublevel 0a:	Idiosyncratic terminology used for race; awareness of race, but not of the nonobservable characteristics associated with ethnicity
Sublevel 0b:	Increased accuracy in classifying races and ethnicities based on observable features

Level 1: Literal Perspective of Ethnicity

Sublevel 1a:	Beginning understanding of some of the relatively permanent, nonobservable aspects of ethnicity (e.g., language spoken, food preferences)
Sublevel 1b:	Conception of the heritage or ancestry components of ethnicity. At both sublevels of 1, understanding of ethnicity remains fixed on nonsocial, somewhat abstract aspects of ethnicity directly connected to Mexico (e.g., ancestors from Mexico, Mexican food, etc.).

Level 2: Nonliteral and Social Perspective of Ethnicity

Sublevel 2a:	Awareness of subtle aspects associated with ethnicity not directly tied to Mexico (e.g., social class issues)
Sublevel 2b:	Integration of everyday, mundane social experiences related to ethnicity and awareness of ethnic prejudice.

Level 3: Group Perspective of Ethnicity

Sublevel 3a:	Awareness of the impact of pervasive experiential influences associated with ethnicity
Sublevel 3b:	Ethnic group consciousness

Level 4: Multicultural Perspective of Ethnicity

Sublevel 4a:	Diversity within ethnic groups and similarities across ethnic groups are appreciated and integrated
Sublevel 4b:	Awareness of diverse socio-cultural influences on self and identity

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High School Responses to:

"Why You Like Being Mexican American?"

Familism

Well, you know how Anglos celebrate with small families, Mexicans bring the whole family.

We're close to our parents, families, especially to the mom, my family lives in Mexico

You see the Hispanics were, I guess you could say, more like a family, they always are together, they always support their people, where the Anglos were pretty much on their own, spread out, except for their immediate family

Cultural Traditions

We have all these dances and fiestas, Mexican, they play around so it's kind of fun,

Well because we have a lot of rich traditions, I like Mexican music, we have our art

I like the music, I like the food

Spanish

I can communicate with people, I can speak Spanish, I can make the person that sits in class and can't speak English feel more comfortable,.

I like the advantage of being able to speak Spanish, and I like the culture, I like having you know, the weddings are really nice, and just the culture itself

Nothing Wrong with it

There's nothing wrong with it, there's nothing I can't do just because I'm Hispanic. I have every right that everyone else has.

I mean yeah it's all right, there's nothing wrong with it to me.

Self-pride

Whatever I was put on this earth as, it doesn't matter if I was White, Black or Mexican, I'm still a person,

Yeah, I wouldn't know how it is to be some - thing else

I just feel proud, I just feel proud of who I am, my color.

It's just the way I am, why not be proud of yourself, I think it's important to be proud of yourself

Overcome adversity

If your parents or anybody, your aunts or uncles, are real supportive of you being His - panic, well you can succeed in life just like a Black person or just like a White person, and when you graduate or something they'll throw a big party for you,

A lot of things I do a lot of people are amazed by it cause I can work on a computer I can fix something,

Miscellaneous reasons

We stick together a lot and there's a lot of things we get to do... Cinco de Mayo, we're more outgoing and yet when we have to take something seriously we do

They do a lot of crazy stuff, they like to have fun

What Promotes Pride

Role Models

We have a lot of people in Congress that are Hispanic

When you see someone that's Mexican do something good or being a leader or stuff like that, you just feel proud

Well because a lot of things that we do, when I hear of people achieving a lot of accom - plishments like going out and helping the world, I would be proud of a Mexican Amer - ican president, to me that's a great accom - plishment that we've been through so much

Overcoming adversity

If you make straight A's, if you never miss a day of school, if you graduate and get a degree and make lots of money that would make you real proud

Celebrations

... probably on the holidays, because that's really when they all come together... Really, they express their feelings and everything, so, that makes Mexican people really proud because they did something in life to make that holiday and so now they're all coming together and they're proud that they have that special day, I guess.

High School Responses to:

"Why would someone not like being Mexican American?"

Discrimination

Racism

Yeah sometimes when they don't treat you right, like at restaurants or service things, the White or Anglo or Black, they're like, You're Mexican, they treat you differently

When someone doesn't accept you because you are, when someone feels that unless you're White or unless you're Japanese, or a certain race that you aren't accepted,

Stereotypes

I guess the way they stereotype them, stereo - type them as mean or dirty or disrespectful,

And there's been times when even the police will say like "let me check" (be)cause we are Mexicans and we are standing around like that means we're gonna have guns on us

I guess it's the way the TV and newspapers presents us.

Sometimes I don't feel proud, because people always say like Mexicanos are going to drop out of school and they're gonna do this and that they're gonna turn their life into gangs they're gonna go to the streets and become another statistic.

Teased

Because they make fun of them, because sometimes they don't like to deal with that when they make fun of them they don't want to be

Bad reputation

They assume that every Hispanic is going to kill you or steal things from you.

It's like when you're Mexican they'll accuse you of doing bad things most of the time, no one will think you're like good or anything

When teachers see us sometimes they think they don't really give some people that much of a chance just because they're Mexican, because of all the Mexicans that have dropped out of school

Some people think that Mexican Americans are just gangs, drugs, and poverty, that's a lot of it but even I'm Mexican American but I'm not ashamed of that because that's our people too and that's part of our culture, our background, and so they just see that, they don't see the leaders or the people that work in the community or do good stuff

If you see something like on TV that makes Mexican Americans look bad, you can feel bad that you're Mexican American,

Some Mexican Americans they do all this stuff and it makes you wild because it like makes you look bad too, and it makes you mad. That's why, because a few do stuff like that and then it just comes upon everybody else

Something might have happened, it's usually in a family, or something happened in the family that was caused by a Hispanic or Mexican American and it really tore the family up or them up, and so just because that one incident they'll judge other Hispanics and be prejudice against them because of the incident that might have happened

Minority status (isolation)

Maybe they are surrounded by people from another race, maybe they feel that they don't fit in

What Might Make Someone Not Be Proud To Be Mexican

Maybe their family was just really poor, and maybe they've gone into a society where White people accept them, but they don't want their friends to know they're poor, and they want to be accepted as a middle or rich class person

Intra-ethnic conflict

I don't know, maybe they don't like their heritage in some way, maybe their ethnic group didn't treat them right and they don't want to be in there anymore, they don't want to be part of that group

What causes discrimination?

Because they need to blame somebody so they just blame the ones they see most often, to me here at my school there's a lot more Mexicans than any of the Anglos or Blacks, so they blame us more

Maybe a Mexican broke into their house and they think that all Mexicans are like that. If one does something, it's like all the Mexicans in the world did everything

When they talk in Spanish to each other, they could be saying something and people think they're saying something else, they could get mad at that... something bad about them... at the jobs the minorities are supposed to get

the jobs before the White person, they could be working there for a while and the Mexican could still get the job

Discrimination caused by segregation/ lack of personal knowledge

You hear all this stuff about Whites or Blacks judging Mexicans, right, but I don't think they've actually had the time to really com - municate with the Hispanic person because they're always saying that we're ignorant and always putting us down but I don't think that they've really taken the time to talk to someone, to talk to a Hispanic person and ask them why did you make this choice

Maybe racism, like maybe the person who is Mexican has to move to an all White school or all Black school and they just say "I don't want to be this no more."

Children's Reasons For Ethnic Pride

Self Pride

I've been Mexican a long time and I've got - ten used to it, you know

Familism

'Cause my grandma is Mexican and my grandpa, my Dad. I want to be like my Dad, I'm proud of my heritage

Because some of my friends are Mexican and my mom is Mexican and my grandma's Mex - ican

Spanish

... cause that you can talk to people [in Span - ish].

Kind of. WHY? well, I'm trying to learn to speak a different language, Mexican lan - guage, and if I do I can get around [in Mex - ico] more easily and stuff, and that's about the only thing I like about it.

Based on personal experience

Because they sell good candy there [in Mex - ico]

Cultural traditions

The heritage, different things we do like Cinco de Mayo and stuff like that. Yes, I just like being Mexican

Yes, knowing that I'm Mexican and having the traditions

Because you can do a lot more things like read, and study in Spanish you can eat dif - ferent things like pizza, tacos, and enchi - ladas, and go to the restaurants

Connection to other Mexican Americans

I like being with my friends. Most of my friends are Mexican American. I just liked being who I am.

Miscellaneous Reasons

It doesn't make much difference to me and the people around don't care and the people around me have grown to accept it at school because nobody excludes anybody just cause of their race. And, cause I was born this way and I'll just have to live this way.

Children's Response to: ***"Why Someone Would Not Like Being Mexican American?"***

Teasing

I don't like being called names... it happens a lot of times at school

Because people call me Chinese and I'm not Chinese. I'm Mexican.

If they were made fun of cause they were Mexican American.

They [Whites] might treat them a little differ - ently... and sometimes Black people will call you different names

Comparisons Between Mexican and African American Children's Responses	
Mexican American responses	**African American responses**
Color rarely cited as reason for pride	I'm proud of my color Black is my favorite color
Differences with other groups I can talk to people [in Spanish]	Because we might do different things than other people do, like know how to jump rope Because it shows sometimes how different you are when you compare yourself to other people
Family reasons My grandma, grandpa, and dad are Mexican, I want to be like my dad	because the mom I have she's right for me and I take after how my mom and dad are. because I'm proud of my family
Socio-economic concerns Maybe they came from a poor family	Because they [Whites] got most of the stuff and like they [Black] family can't afford stuff
Historical/Civil Rights rarely cited	Because of what we had to do to get our freedom and White people didn't have to do that to struggle. There weren't very many White slaves
Intra-racial conflict They may not like it if you don't speak Spanish	The Black on Black crime Some Black people are racial and might not like White people
Self pride I like the way that I am. I wouldn't know how to be different	Because we can't change ourselves —we gotta stick with it the rest of our lives.
Stereotyping and Discrimination I don't like it when they label and stereotype you	I am proud to be Black. I don't want to go around thinking that Black people are dumb, cause we are not. Some White people think of us that way

Physical characteristics

Cause maybe he doesn't like the color.

Heritage

Maybe they didn't like where they came from after all.

Socio-economic status

Maybe if they came from a poor family or poor background.

Cause it's (Mexico) a poor... a city with lots of poor people. They're tired of... when they see the people.

Pride Questions and Scoring	
Question	**Scoring**
Do you like being Mexican American? (pride1) No ====>	Yes ===> 1 Qualified Yes => .5
Have there been times you have wished you weren't Mexican American? (pride2)	No ===> 1 Qualified No => .5 Yes ===> 0

Discrimination

> *... probably like say you were Mexican and you tried to get a real good job but they did - n't do it to you, they select a White person, and you would probably be all sad but you probably got a good job later on, and you probably try to forget about the other time*

Stereotyping

> *... because some people say that Mexicans are stupid and they don't try and its hard to get stuff to have like programs if your a minority*

> *It might be the way they were treated, like if you were Black and the way people were treated way back when they might want to stop being Black because of the way they were treated, the way other people feel towards them. They might be treated like dirt because they are Mexican.*

Intra-ethnic conflict

> *Well because most of her friends might speak Spanish and she might speak English, and they might not like it if she is speaking Eng - lish and not Spanish*

What Causes Discrimination?

> *... because they're not like, they're not their color, they're not the same as them*

Pride 1 predicted by

(a) parental teaching about Mexican American culture

(b) adolescents' ethnic affiliation scores

Pride 2 not significantly by other scores

Pride 1 minus **Pride 2** (realistic or nondefensive pride) predicted by:

(a) parental discussion of discrimination,

(b) parental ethnic socialization practices,

(c) parental teaching about Mexican American culture

(d) adolescents'ethnic affiliation scores